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O F T H E
CHURCH of *ENGLAND*:

On Occasion of the COMMITMENT of the
Right Reverend the

LORD BISHOP of *ROCHESTER*

To the *TOWER* of *LONDON*.

By a Clergyman of the Church of England.

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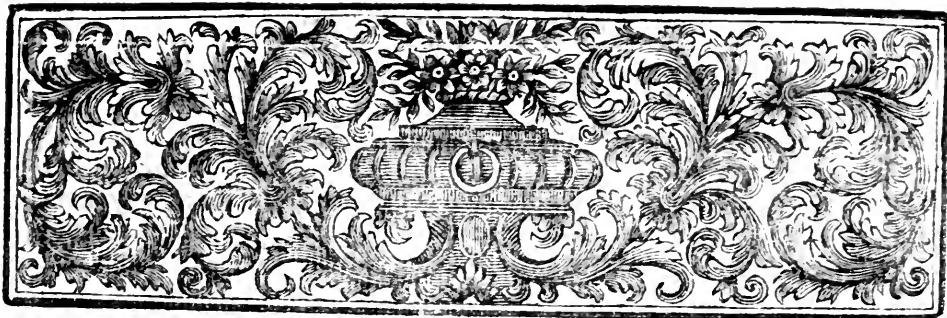
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH

CONDUCTED BY

DR. [Name]

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



A

LETTER
TO THE
CLERGY of the CHURCH
of ENGLAND:

*On occasion of the Commitment of the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of Rochester to the Tower of London.*

My Reverend Brethren,



Question not but by this time you are alarm'd with a report, that the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Rochester* has been by order of the King and Council committed to the Tower of *London* for high Treason: The Commitment of a Prelate of our Church, upon so high a Charge, has been so rarely known among us since the time of the Reformation, that it may well appear surprising, and will, I hope, create a Curiosity in you of examining what I have to offer upon this important affair in the following discourse, both with respect to his Lordship, and to our selves the rest of the national Clergy.

A Letter to the Clergy

[I.] That the Welfare of the Church of *England*, and the Safety and Honour of all its Teachers in particular should be the constant aim and endeavour of our Government, is a thing both Reasonable in its self, and highly for the Interest of the Publick: For my part I have these great points as really and as much at heart, as any man has or pretends to have. I love it in it's Faith and it's Discipline, and have seen and known so many of its Clergy, men of clear Reason and well-temper'd Candour (and always having a degree of Candour proportion'd to the clearness of their Reason) that I dare defy any man to produce me a Church or even to draw up a Scheme of one, which does more than This, in its real constitution, consult either the Honour of God, or the Knowledge of Truth, or the Benefit of Mankind in general, and of this Nation in particular. This our civil Governours are, I am persuaded, firmly satisfy'd in; they cannot desire or wish for a Church that pays more deference and submission to the State, or that does more, upon Principle, take the measure of its temporal Authority from the appointment of the Legislature: As it is therefore their Interest and Duty, so I verily believe it is their Inclination and Endeavour carefully to support it; and it would be highly Unreasonable in us to think, that, whenever their Censures fall upon any of our Order (as they do in the case now before us), they act, notwithstanding these two powerful motives to the contrary, upon either Passion, or Prejudice, or Misrepresentation.

In what light this extraordinary affair may have been set before you, I presume not to guess; probably in the Worst, and cloath'd with Circumstances which may give you some Suspicions that not only this Prelate's Person but his sacred Office too is disgrac'd by this Commitment. But I take the liberty to affirm, because I may do it with Truth, that the distinction of a Private and a Publick character was well observ'd upon this occasion, and that he met with all the Civility, I may say, Tenderness, which could possibly be shewn to any one under circumstances resembling his: For the Persons directed by Order of King and Council to seize his Lordship and his Papers, receiv'd a strict command to treat him with Respect and Reverence: When examin'd by a Committee of Council, he was permitted to sit down, and was heard with patience and respectful attention in all that he had to offer on his behalf: and what was more unusual, he was allow'd, after that he had withdrawn himself, to enter twice into the Council room, and there either alledge or request something in his favour: when he was committed, no marks of Triumph on the side of the Government attended him to the Tower; but, as the heart of an unhappy man would wish, he pass'd privately and with-
out

out any Guards to that which is the most Honourable place of Confinement.

Such an Indulgence, upon a charge of so heinous a nature, shewn by the Government (after that it has experienc'd from the last Rebellion how Mercy may be thrown away upon and even misused by the Stubborn and Unthankful) to one of the Episcopal order, and who is therefore, if guilty, more inexcusably guilty; especially to one of such Figure in the World on many accounts, as that men will generally suppose him, if concern'd in any Conspiracy, to have taken no less share in it, than the Contrivance and Conduct of the whole: such an Indulgence, I say, when rightly consider'd, may go a great way in appeasing those little Jealousies and Suspicions, which you did perhaps harbour within you upon the first Receipt of this News. I know that it is Natural for men of all Societies, even of incorporated Trades, tho' never so mean in the esteem of the World, to be alarm'd at any thing which may seem to reflect Dishonour on them as a Body, or which brings the Persons of their particular Governours in danger; for where there is an Union of Interest, there is always a common Jealousy of Danger: but why should not We, Gentlemen, who are bred up to Letters, and have receiv'd that generous Education in our Universities, which is usually thought not unworthy the Youth of the highest Quality? why should not We, who understand how to distinguish and separate those things in our minds, which the Unwise and Unlearned confound, see clearly that it may be Reasonable and Necessary for the Government to animadvert upon one of our Order, even in the strictest manner, at the same time that it reverences the holy Function, with which he is invested? Besides the obvious Reflection, that his Majesty during his whole Reign has paid a strict and conscientious regard to the Rights and Property of every one of his Subjects (which I shall only mention, because the Proof of it is easie and open to all men,) I say besides this, there are two or three Considerations which do weigh much with me and incline me to think, that nothing but Justice and the Necessity of State mov'd our Civil Governours to act in this manner.

The one of which is the great respect which the Order of Bishops does now meet with at Court above what was ever known to have been paid them in former Reigns: It has been his Majesty's Continual and, I think, Prudent rule to consult or be directed by his Bishops in the disposal of his Preferments of every rank in the Church: they have frequently recommended and succeeded in their recommendation; they have always had the liberty of giving their Advice upon this Subject, and hardly one Instance has been known, where any
Employment

A Letter to the Clergy

Employment of considerable influence in the Church has been filled without the consent and approbation of some at least out of that venerable Body: and this is such a condescending behaviour in his Majesty, as I am sure all Ecclesiasticks, even those who dislike the Channel in which the stream of Preferments runs at present, must be pleas'd with, as the best method for Us in the general, and as a fair Pattern which he sets to his Successors. What can we wish for more than to have the ordering of our Interests in our Own hands? what can be more engaging in his Majesty, or shew a greater Trust placed in, and Deference paid to the Judgment of his Bishops, than to share (as it were) this his Royal Prerogative with them, and make himself in this particular but a kind of Executer of their Pleasure? Here then let us rejoice upon a View of the Happiness of our Church, and reject with scorn that Promise, which He the Mock-Majesty at *Rome* is said by his Adherents to have made, that "if ever he be restor'd, the disposal of all Bishopricks and other Ecclesiastical Preferments belonging to the Crown shall be lodg'd in the hands of the Bishops." — why, we have this Privilege already, we possess it, we feel the happy effects of it: for my part (not to mention that perhaps this mighty Promiser means the Bishop of *Rome* and other Popish Bishops now conceal'd among us, as those with whom he intends to lodge this right of Disposal) I say for my part I will never depend upon him for the performance of Promises, who, if he comes, must come with a Sword in his hand; and I shou'd expect soon to see, that (as *Milton* expresses it better than I can do)

————— *Ease would recant*
Vows made in Pain, as Violent and Void: Parad. lost. book 4th.

however at best I must call in question that Man's Discretion, who would give up the Writings of his Estate, which are now in his own keeping, in a comfortable hope of hereafter receiving them safely back again.

The other consideration, which, as I said, inclines me strongly to believe that only Justice and the Necessity of the State moved our Civil Governours in this important affair, is that till the time of this Discovery his Lordship has had a full weight of Regard and Respect paid to his Merit at Court and in the great Council of the Nation: whatever applications he has made to his present Majesty, (and some he has made) have been always receiv'd and answer'd favourably: Whenever in the honourable Assembly of Peers he deliver'd his Opinion about the Publick Affairs of the Nation, even when he oppos'd

pos'd all the measures and endeavours of the Ministers of State, they were always observed to answer his Arguments with Candour and Good-manners; and tho' he usually express'd himself with all the Elegance of Language, with all the Justness of Delivery, and in the most decent Gesture of an Orator, yet was it the Civility of his Audience more than the Weight of his Eloquence which gain'd him Attention: for Eloquence is a blunt Tool with men of Reason, when it comes from a Suspected person; it is indeed a sharp arrow and a poison'd one too, when it is in the hands of him whose Designs are Evil and not known to be so; and therefore, as it is what scarcely one in a Thousand can ever arrive at, so scarcely one in Ten Thousand can safely be trusted with it.

I may add another consideration, which should dispose even the most Disaffected Subject to think, that this Commitment had a Just and even a Necessary Foundation, I mean the Unpopular View in which such an Action uses to appear among us: it is not many years since the Impeachment of one of our Order, inferior to this Prelate in Station, but much more so in personal Abilities, alarm'd and almost turn'd up-side-down this Nation; the men then in power felt the weight of it, and saw (but too late, when they were forc'd out of their high Stations) that the reverence which men pay Us rises in proportion to our distress, and that it is much safer at some seasons to lay the *Loins* of the Law upon a Layman, than the little *Finger* of it upon a Clergyman. This Rock upon which they then split, and the Storms which were then rais'd about them by the breath of popular clamours and discontents, are no doubt still fresh in their minds: and no one can imagine that, under less than an absolute necessity, or for a weaker reason than the imminent danger of the State, they would be willing to steer a course that has any resemblance to the former, and run the hazard of a second State-shipwreck.

However it must be consider'd that the Commitment of this Prelate differs highly from the abovemention'd case and from that of the seven Bishops in a late Reign; the Doctor was censur'd for something spoken in one of his Sermons, that is, for something thought blameable in the immediate execution of his Office, as a Clergyman; but this Prelate is charg'd with Designs and Actions allow'd by all to be wholly foreign to his Function: The seven Bishops were guilty of nothing but only presenting in a decent and respectful manner their Petition to King *James II*, and were without pity committed to the Tower, when their Case was in its natureailable; but the Charge against this Prelate is no less than that of high Treason, no less than an endeavour to subvert the present Royal Family, and to put all our Rights and

Properties in confusion: His Lordship is so sensible that this Crime is not in its natureailable (unless on default of the Government to bring him to Tryal) that I verily believe he has not once attempted, or entertain'd a hope that he might be admitted to Bail.

But if any discovery has been lately made, I mean not of general disaffection to this Royal Family, nor of any attempts and offers immediately upon the death of the late Queen; but of Designs lately form'd by him in conjunction with others to subvert our Constitution, and place upon our Imperial Throne one grown up under the very Wing of the Papal See, with only a bare possibility of preserving to our selves, upon his hostile approach, either our Liberties as Britons, or our Religion as Protestants; should he, I say, be discover'd to have attempted or any way contributed to this black design, nay should the Government only have strong and well-grounded suspicions of his having attempted it, there is no considering man, I am sure there is no good subject, but must see clearly not only the Justifiableness but even the Necessity of his Commitment: I mean of his Commitment to the Tower; for to have confin'd him in his own house, wou'd have been Unsafe for the Government; to have deliver'd him over to the care of a Messenger wou'd have been Disparaging to Him; and both would have been Unusual and contrary to the known forms of proceeding in matters of high Treason.

Upon such a Discovery, should any such be made, we might say, Happy had it been for his Lordship, if in the midst of that Plenty and Honour which he enjoy'd, he could have made a full meal of Happiness upon them; but more happy are We, the Clergy of the Church of *England*, for upon us the first fury of triumphant Popery is ever likely to fall: the Shepherds must be removed, before the Flocks can be disperfed: and we have great reason therefore to take up the same form of thanks-giving words, which this very Prelate used, upon a like occasion, in one of his Sermons preached at Court in the late King *William's* reign; and say, "Blessed be God, who did not utterly cast out our Prayers and Supplications, but delay'd only to answer them till a day of Salvation, till an acceptable time, *when we were alarm'd with Invasions from abroad and Conspiracies at home*, and when Men threatned to swallow us up quick.

I presume that there is no Protestant among us who believes that a Bishop, as a Bishop, is or ought to be exempt from Civil Enquiries: that erroneous notion was banish'd from our Isle with Popery long ago; and the King's Supremacy over all his Subjects is not doubted by any member of our Church: indeed while a Prelate acts within his

his proper Sphere, a larger portion of Respect is his due; the Government, as well as private men, ought not rashly to suspect or take up an accusation against him; for the Integrity of his character is the best support of that Authority which he ought to have in order to govern well those who are in his Diocese and under his Episcopal Inspection: This he has a right to from Scripture and by the reasons of State: but whenever any one of that high Station acts contrary to his Religious Character, and foments Civil Wars and strikes at the Establishment of his Country, it is his Interest that his sacred Office be not regarded in the Question, least it serve only to aggravate the crimes prov'd upon him, or (to speak the language of the great *St. Paul*) to make his *Sin exceeding Sinful*. It may be consider'd farther, that a Conspiracy is equally dangerous to the Government, whether it be carried on by Lay or Episcopal hands, by one that wears a Sword, or a habit of Lawn. That State must be unwise to a Proverb, which will not take the same necessary precautions against the one as the other; for the care of the Publick is above any private regard, because it includes in it all other Relations, whether Natural, Civil or Ecclesiastical. His Lordship indeed is almost the first Prelate since the Reformation, who has seen the Tower upon such an occasion as This; and the Novelty of the thing, which now alarms us, ought in reason to be esteem'd the Glory of our Church: had this sight been more common, we should have been less Surpriz'd now, but more Ashamed in the general: For my part I cannot but look upon this as an Instance of steady and impartial Justice, such as every Government ought to observe: and I would not wish my self a Member of a more *Platonick* Commonwealth, than where every man who enters into such measures as endanger my Liberty, my Property or my Religion, be he Civil or Sacred, wear he a Garter or a Mitre, is upon discovery of his designs brought to a fair Tryal, and does upon Conviction pay that Debt of Punishment, which the known Laws of his Country demand.

Having now given you this account of the Affair before us, which may perhaps be satisfactory to those of you who live in the remote parts of this Kingdom, and to whom common Reports do usually come with some mixture of Untruth, if not of Malicious Falshood, it will, I hope, appear to you (for this is the Substance of what I have said,) That it is the Interest and Inclination of the present Ministry to consult the Honour of our Church; That in particular his Lordship was at his Commitment treated with all decent civility and respect by the Government; That our Bishops were never more esteem'd and trusted at Court than they now are, and therefore no Prejudice is there harbour'd against his Episcopal character; That no man had more re-

gard paid to him by the Court and the Ministers of State, than his Lordship had, and therefore we cannot suppose them to be prepossess'd against his Personal Character; That nothing but Necessity could have induced them to this action which is in its nature so Unpopular, and has been in a former case Dangerous; and lastly, That the Justice and Safety of the Nation requires that all Delinquents be consider'd and censur'd as Delinquents without any regard to the Office, or Title, or Honour which they bear.

[II.] And now let me address my self more immediately to You, my Brethren and fellow-labourers in the service of Religion; and I have two requests to make to you; the first is to those of You (and the number I trust is very large) who do submit to his present Majesty's Government for Conscience sake, that you will, by your more earnest endeavours for the future to support our Constitution, wipe off the Stain which our Order has receiv'd from this melancholy accident; the other request is to those of You, who wish for a Change, that you will consider from hence, how dangerous all Plots are to the contrivers of them, and what a silly purchase you will have made, if ever your Wishes and Attempts should prove successful.

I. §. To the first sort of You, I mean the Friends of our Establishment, give me leave to represent that with too many men we lie under the Scandal of being a Restless and Ungovernable Body: The charge, I know, is not a True one; but it would grieve the heart of a Good man to find that there should be any, the Least, handle for such an unworthy aspersion; for Sedition and Treason in a Clergyman is an accumulated Crime, it is a whole Clustre of Sins in one, and has many more Aggravations, when committed by Us, than by any Others; For

We have all solemnly dedicated our selves to the Ministry of Holy things, we have turn'd our backs upon the Cares of a Secular calling, and have confin'd our selves to the more immediate service of Religion: so that for Us to be concern'd in Publick affairs, which are not made part of our Duty by the Laws, even tho' we should act in them Uprightly, is hardly Justifiable, and may well seem a temporary Departure from the business of our Calling: Besides, we the Inferior Clergy know so little of Facts, the very discharge of our Duty puts us so out of the way of knowing the Truth of State Facts; that Therefore we never had yet much reputation for our Skill in judging of publick matters: Why then should we quit that sacred Province, in which our Fellow-subjects will easily allow us to be able Judges of Divinity, for That in which (let us confess it freely, for all the World knows it,

it, and I think it our Credit) we are not, we cannot well be able Judges of Politicks?

We are all men appointed to promote the Peace of Mankind, and to preach the Doctrines of Obedience to the Higher Powers in being, and of mutual Love and Goodwill towards one another; and can it seem less than a vile Hypocrisy or a direct Disbelief of the great Truths of Scripture, if we give any just occasion for our civil Governours to suspect Us as Seditious and Disaffected Subjects? We say (and rightly too) in our Sermons that we are an order of men Necessary to Government, let us then by our Actions prove this Truth to those who think otherwise of Us; we are, some of us, Eloquent and Copious enough in proving that Society cannot long subsist without Teachers of Religion, let us then, I beseech you, make it visible to all Men, that we endeavour to support the Society in which we are so happily planted, and labour with all our Power to disappoint the Attempts of those who would overturn it. We of all men do with an ill Grace endeavour to work up our Audience into fury, especially against the State; it is the very Reverse of our Profession, and is just such a Solœcism in Divinity as Superstition in Philosophy.

We are to consider our selves still farther as (in some sort) Pensioners of the State which we live in: Least this be not understood as it is meant, give me leave to express my self more clearly by saying, that, tho' we have a Claim from Scripture and Reason for a Maintenance in the labour of the Gospel, yet the particular Assignment of that Portion, which we enjoy, is the free-gift of our Government; or, if any one will make a difficulty in allowing This, yet he can not deny that the large Revenues, as well as the Honours and Privileges, attending the higher Stations of the Church do entirely flow from the bounty of our Laws, and are the Pensions which a wise Society pays to its distinguish'd Ecclesiasticks, for the Reward of their uncommon Piety and Learning, and of the Pattern, which they are suppos'd to give, of Submission to their civil Governours: some of us enjoy not only what is necessary for the supporting us in the sacred business of our Calling, but have an Abundance sufficient to make us sit down in the rank of the Great and Wealthy; and to enable us to become our selves Patrons and Benefactors to Merit in Distress: And I have often thought, that, if some among us, who have been the warmest Advocates for the Divine Right of our Incomes, were strictly to take the measure of them from what is said concerning them in the Gospel, they would lose at least one half of their Revenues in the dangerous Experiment, and perhaps have but the Tithe left them of what they now enjoy from the Munificence of

the Legislature. This therefore is an Argument of much weight, and may teach us, that, as our Civil Governours are our Benefactors, whoever resists them, must appear basely Unthankful, and cannot shake off his Obedience without taking upon himself a full Load of the Infamy of Ingratitude.

After all these Ties, which no Teacher of the Gospel, no Grateful man can break thro', we must seriously and frequently consider farther, that we are all bound by the most solemn Oaths of Allegiance, and Abjuration: We have all in open Court, before multitudes of Witnesses, in the presence of publick Magistrates, with a loud Voice declar'd in our Conscience, before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King George is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm; That we do believe in our Conscience that the Pretender hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm; That we do renounce, refuse, and abjure any Allegiance, or Obedience to him: That we will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty King George, &c. That all these things we do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the express Words by Us spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. Nay we have gone farther than all this, and have sworn (for with this the Oath closes, and our Subscription to it is upon Record) that we do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Abjuration, Renunciation and Promise heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian. And now that this Gordian Knot is fasten'd on our Consciences, which no Art or Time can loose, nothing but Violence and Wickedness can cut, how must we appear to the World, how black, how detestable, if we act contrary to this sacred Engagement! how much must the Christian Religion, how much must even Natural Religion be weaken'd by such a behaviour in us! Believe me, Brethren, that no Imputation, no Stain can stick so fast to our Church as This; it is a Stab almost in a Vital part, and only a visible contrary behaviour in us can be the effectual remedy in a case of so much danger.

We cannot indeed help the faults of a few, very few, I hope, among us, who have transferr'd their Obedience to One in another Country, and gone so far for an Object of it as the very Bosom of Popery: let them answer for themselves with their Fortunes and their Lives, if need requires; but this we may do, we may shew that the Corruption is not General, and that the Ill humours have not spread themselves thro' all or many parts of the Ecclesiastical Body: I cannot but in Reason, as well as Charity, firmly believe, that there are many thousands among us, who have never yet bowed the Knee

of Homage, no not in Intention, to the Italian *Baal*; to such therefore I speak at present, and conjure them by all that is Sacred and Dear to them, that they will from henceforward exert themselves in all wise and discreet manner, and testify both by their Actions and Discourses, that their Allegiance is still unshaken, and that it has Reason and Conscience in them for its support; for now, when the Reputation of our Church, as well as the Duty of a Subject calls upon us, now to be Silent, is to help forward the Scandal, and to be backward in promoting Loyalty, is almost to Rebel against not only the State but our Religion too.

I know well enough that many of Us, who in our hearts are faithful Subjects, by living in remote parts of the Nation and by hearing every publick action misrepresented, or ill-told at that distance, have entertain'd little Jealousies about the designs of some in the Administration: and I shou'd more regard this if there ever was a time in any reign, when the Case was otherwise: Call back the Memory of any, the most belov'd, Prince, and see whether his Subjects, who were placed far out of sight of the Scene of Affairs, and who knew nothing but by uncertain Hearsay, did not even in his days suspect and murmur, or give themselves the greater Liberty of Complaints and Outcries about the actions and designs of their Superiors: tho' Then the Good or Ill management of the State was the only Question, but Now we are concern'd about no less a matter than the Change of the whole Constitution; and men who have this avow'd aim, will naturally be more Active to increase the National Jealousies and Suspicions: so that all Abatements being made and the murmurs of those who wish for the Pretender being deducted (for such men would equally rail at any King, except their own) I do not know, but we have a less proportion of Clamours and Discontents now prevailing among us than ever we had.

We are all persons of some Experience in the World, and have gain'd a Knowledge of Men as well as of Books; we cannot therefore but have observ'd, How easily and how generally the actions of Princes and the affairs of State are misrepresented: *the Heart of Kings is unsearchable*, said one of our divine Heroes in Wisdom, I mean *Solomon*; and he spoke Truth; for the Intentions of private men, much more of those who move in the highest Sphere, are undiscoverable; they may have been Evil, tho' attended with a good Event to the Publick; and they may have been Good, tho' not rewarded with an answerable Success; this reflexion therefore may serve to instruct us, that we ought not to entertain uncharitable Thoughts concerning the Thoughts of others; since at the very time that we do this, we read

a Lecture to our selves upon the Folly of it, in venturing at it meerly on a Knowledge that we are Safe, and that our Thoughts cannot be discover'd by them: We, who live nearer to the great Scene of publick business, see with what Disadvantage of Story, with what Trick of Misreport most of the Actions and all the Designs of Statesmen are publish'd among the vulgar: and it requires no uncommon penetration to see how little Credit the Histories of former Ages do generally deserve, when we can know so little of the real and undisguis'd Truth of our Own: But some things cannot be misrepresented or mistaken; a man may judge aright of what he feels and sees: I call upon you therefore, in the most solemn manner, to sit down calmly, and to spend a few minutes in examining within your selves, whether since his Majesty's first arrival among us our Religion does not stand upon the very same firm Establishment as formerly. Is it's Faith, or it's Discipline in any one single Instance changed? has not his Majesty, by his Royal Assurances and Injunctions, frequently declar'd his resolution to support our Church in its present Form, and call'd upon us not to speak and act against it's sacred Doctrines and decent Discipline? Produce an instance of the contrary, if you can; but let not Suspicion, let not Imagination pass for Argument in a case of this importance: To come a little more home to our selves, Do any of us find that we have not the same Rights and Revenues as usually? Do any of us meet with Disturbance or Discouragement, when we act within our Circle, and preach up the Doctrinal or Practical points of our Religion? or do any of us discover a decay of Respect and Reverence towards us in our Neighbours, while we confine ourselves to the *Labour of Love* and are exercis'd about the proper allow'd business of our Calling? Nothing of all this can be alledg'd by us; and therefore I must believe that this general discontent, (which all men see too visibly) is a kind of vapours in the Nation: it is sick of one knows not what, and to be cur'd one almost knows not how: but the consequences of it may in time be fatal, for he who murmurs, forwards the business of him who rebels, and the breath of the Complaining Subject blows that Publick Fire which the hand of the Traytor is kindling

2. §. Before I finish this Discourse, I have one request more to make, and it is to those among us (very few, I trust, in number) who wish for a Change, and not only desire but attempt a Rebellion: I shall not use with such as you, Gentlemen, the Arguments which I have just now enforc'd; for what is your Calling, what is Gratitude, what is the Obligation of Oaths to You? vain, and idle names in your Opinion!

Tyes

Tyes only upon the scrupulous and unenterprizing! well, be it allow'd so for once; I have still material arguments to offer you, even your Interest and your Safety, and the poorness of the Prize for the sake of which you set your Lives and your Fortunes, the Happiness of your Selves and your Posterity at Stake. I will suppose you now, as under no one obligation to his present Majesty more than to the *Pretender*; as left to act wholly upon the principles of Prudence and Discretion; and I doubt not to convince you, (at least to make it out clearly, whether you will be convinc'd or no) that You ought to sit down quietly under the present Administration, and be content with it, even in the ill light in which you see it, rather than run the greatest of hazards in favour of one of the least promising Restorations.

You see from present Instances, and from the accounts of almost all former times, that Plots are generally unsuccessful: they are the unfairest Game which men can play at: the most cheating Lottery which they can be engag'd in: the prospect of great Profits and high Prizes to be gain'd by them does too often insnare the unwary and unexperienc'd: but for one that has ever in any age succeeded, an hundred have miscarried: they require so many Accomplices, so many expert to contrive, and active to manage: who are almost all men of neither Honour nor Probity, and Men of such various Tempers, and of such differing degrees of Firmness and Resolution, that it is almost next to a Miracle, if no disappointment befall them, or no timely discovery be made of the Conspiracy: One is desirous to have a larger share in the management of the Scheme, than Another is willing to allow him; One is suspicious of the Courage of his Accomplice to go thro' the design without wavering; Another perhaps is jealous, that tho' he has Courage enough, yet he has not the Gift of Secresy; and every one has this ill-fate hanging on him, that he is not only to guard himself from the Suspicion of the State, but from the treachery of his fellow Traytors; so that every man, thus engaged, plots in some sort against his Brother Plotter, and endeavours to be as much disguis'd and conceal'd from this his Friend, as from his Enemy, the State: no wonder then that under all these Disadvantages so few Seeds of Rebellion rise up, when so many are daily sow'd: — Come now and let us reason together; if this be the precarious and slippery condition of all Plots against the publick, will a wise man venture all that is Dear to him in so rotten and so unpromising a bottom? is not the Loss of Life and Estate the known effect of a Miscarriage in things of this nature? or is it not worth a Traytor's while to reflect that (if he sets himself and his fortunes at a low value) yet he runs a dangerous

hazard of leaving his Widow in Sorrow and Want, and his Children heirs to nothing but the Infamy of their Father?

But suppose that his Plots should prove successful: suppose the *Pretender* were peaceably placed upon the throne of this Nation: what is likely to be the mighty reward of this Traytor's hazardous Labour? do not we all know, that after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, past services were neglected, the greatest part of those who suffer'd for him and effected his return were forgotten, and the maxim of State was at that time "Gain your powerful Enemies over to your Interest, your Friends are Yours already": and who knows but this doctrine in Politicks might again prevail? at least who does not know that in such cases the more conspicuous Merit of a few Leaders swallows up all the Merit and all the Reward of the multitude of Inferiors? Let us imagine then that You have your King here put in quiet possession of this Crown, and your selves have gain'd your Wishes, but mis'd of your Recompence: What sort of Monarch then is This likely to prove? how much fitter to promote the publick good, than his present Majesty? or how are Murmurs and Complaints likely to cease in this fancied golden age?

In the first place remember that the *Pretender* is a Foreigner, and more so, than the most spiteful among you can charge his present Majesty with being: our King has liv'd now above eight years among us, and has had all possible opportunities of knowing our Interests and the nature of our Constitution, not from Books, but Experience: the *Pretender* was never in any part of *Great-Britain* except a few Months here in his earliest Infancy, and, since, a few days in an obscure corner of *Scotland*, made remarkable chiefly by his infamous Flight and Desertion of his best Friends in the worst article of Danger: he hardly knows what an English face is, except from the dejected and repining ones of some few (for almost all his Ministers and Favourites are *Scots-men*) about his Court at *Rome*; and is wholly a Stranger to that Cheerfulness (the Effect of Plenty and Freedom) with which most men do and every man may sit down here in his own house, under his present Majesty King *George's* happy Administration.

It ought much to be consider'd, that the *Pretender* has never sojourn'd in any Nation, where the King was not Arbitrary, and the Body of the Subjects miserable in comparison with Ours: Tyranny he may have learned, but not the gentle Government of a limited Monarch: He may have seen what it is for a Prince to be Powerful, but not what it is for the Subjects to be Happy: and possibly he may think, that since we are a Happy people, it is to our Happiness that

he has owed all his Misfortunes, and that therefore it will be his Interest to lessen it as soon as he is able.

Nor is it less to be consider'd, that continual Disappointments must have sower'd whatever natural Cheerfulness or Tenderness of mind he had: He would come hither freighted with a full measure of Resentment and Revenge, and breathing Anger and Fury against all ranks of men among us; tho' not perhaps to be vented immediately, yet to be shewn visibly upon the first opportunity of putting the inflam'd thoughts of his Heart in Execution:

Κρείστων γδ' Βασιλίδε, ὅτε χάσετ' ἀνδρῶν χεῖρη·

Εἴπερ γὰρ τε χόλον γε κ' αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψη,

Ἄλλὰ γε κ' μετόπισθεν ἔχει κόπον, ὄφρα τελέσῃ,

Ἐν σήθεσσι τοῖσι.

Homer's Iliad. book 1st.

Nor less, that he must have large demands upon our Estates (upon the Estates of All of us in general) for the satisfying his debts contracted with almost every Popish Prince in *Europe* and with almost every substantial Papist here in *Great Britain*; who will all no doubt, foreign Princes especially, set down to his Account the Pensions they have paid him, and the Sums they have advanced him, as so many debts to be discharged, when they find him in a Capacity to repay them.

Nor less, that with him must be restor'd and releas'd from their Outlawry a set of poor and ill-cloath'd Courtiers and Ministers of State, some of them wholly unknown to us, and others too well known to be admir'd; all having long since seen the last of their Money and their Credit too; and therefore having, besides their Resentments to gratify, large Wants to be supplied, and being not only Hungry after our Riches, but even Greedy and Ravenous: A restoration therefore of such as these would have every part, except the name, of a Destruction, and we shou'd have, I fear, too fatal a reason to apply to them, what *Cicero* spoke concerning some of the Roman Generals in his time, *ipsorum adventus in urbes solorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant*. Orat. pro Lege Manil.

Nor less, that he comes, if ever he comes, a Papist, and that from *Rome* it self the Mother of Popery; zealous for the advancement of a Religion, which can no more subsist or keep fair terms with Ours, than the Element of Fire can with Water: Popery, tho' now prohibited and discountenanc'd among us is an active and restless thing: and do we think that those, who are Stirring in Adversity, will not be

Insolent in Prosperity? can we imagine that the Members of that Church have less Courage when Conquerors, than when Subdu'd; when Triumphant, than when kept under Subjection?

Think therefore and reflect within your selves, I entreat you, whether it be not highly probable, that the Condition of the Nation, nay that your Own happiness, will not be mended and improv'd even upon this change of Monarchs, which you so warmly desire: for are not Pensions and Bribes then, when the Court will be made up of the Poor and the Needy, more likely to be matter of general complaint than now? should we not be then more jealous of encouragement given to Papists under the Reign of a profess'd Papist, than we are now of encouragement given to Dissenters under that of a profess'd member of our Church? would all Plots, think ye, and Conspiracies then cease? or should we not even then be continually alarm'd with new troubles and reports of new commotions? would none, do you believe, have the Spirit, the Bravery (for such I will venture to call it) to attempt the replacing our *British* Sceptre in a *Hannover*-hand, and the recalling a reign under which we have experienced the Sweets of Freedom in our Civil and Ecclesiastical condition? Assure your selves that there are clear heads and warm hearts and active hands on the side, where our present duty lies, and

Euryale, audendum dextra

Virg. *Æn.* book 9th.

will be the Motto which many a zealous Loyer of his Protestant King and Protestant Religion will then constantly wear about his heart.

But I have hitherto shew'd you only the best side of the prospect, by supposing the *Pretender's* return to be a Quiet and a Peaceable one: this is not likely to happen; it is more probable, nay it is certain in all human appearance, that his Arrival must be attended with Battles and Sieges, and must (to use the words of our inimitable *Shakespeare*)

Let loose the Dogs of War.

It is not in the nature of his present Majesty easily to Fear, nor in the hearts of his faithful Subjects to desert him in the season of danger: All the Protestant States in *Europe* are bound by Interest, and many Catholick Princes by Treaties, not only to countenance, but to assist him with their forces against all foreign pretensions to his Throne and Title: then will Tumults and Alarms be loudly heard among us; then will all the Evils of Civil Rage and Wars be felt by us; then will the Blood of Countrymen and Kinsmen be spilt, and even the Conquerors themselves will stand on the Field of Battle

tle crown'd with a melancholy Victory, and stain'd all over with the infamous marks of Slaughter, Murder and Parricide—— But I will pursue this unwelcome thought no farther; it is enough to make a better head, than mine, giddy at the Reflection.

Upon the foresight therefore of all these things, which in such a case are Likely to happen, methinks a considering Nonjuror, or even a good-natur'd and publick-spirited Papist shou'd repine at the prospect of so melancholy a day, and scarce wish to receive him, whom in his Conscience he believes to be his Rightful King, upon terms of such disadvantage to his Country; at least I must suppose, and I do firmly believe, that those of our Order, who do now at a distance hope for the Arrival of that *Idol of Majesty*, wou'd be frighten'd and displeas'd at the near approach and presence of it; they would change their Tale with the weary *Labourer* in the Fable who had called upon *Death*; and would wish the invoc'd danger was once gone, and the fancied Burthen well laid on their Shoulders again.

In a view therefore of your Interest (for Conscience is here out of the Question with You, who have broke thro' the most solemn Oaths and therefore cannot pretend to be Conscientious) I say, for the sake of your visible Interest sit down in quiet and attempt nothing against the Government, tho' you do not approve of it; or if you have still any regard for Conscience, consider the following Argument: Should the *Pretender* ever gain admittance here, he cannot censure your Submission to the Powers in being; because it is provided by an act of *H. 7.* that none shall be deem'd a Rebel, who acts against a dispossest'd Prince, in favour of him who is in actual possession of the name and office of King: Nay his present Majesty then has a legal right to the Submission even of those who think another to be the rightful Heir of the Crown; and tho' you should be fully persuaded that no Laws, no reasons of publick Safety can exclude the *Pretender*, yet may you satisfy your Scruples in paying Obedience, because it is a Legal one, to the present Establishment; *wherefore* (for I may from hence justly draw the Apostle's Conclusion) *ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.* But should you Miscarry in your attempts, who can promise that even this Merciful Sovereign, whom your Rebellions do daily provoke, will not turn his despis'd Clemency into a necessary Rigour? When the Hatchet or the Halter stands prepar'd for you; when no Pardons or Reprieves can, in Justice to the Publick, be any longer indulg'd you; when his Majesty shall be forced to put on the stern Countenance of Severity, which nothing but Necessity can
make

make him wear, then we may Pity you as Misguided men, but we cannot be otherwise than pleas'd with your Fate, as you are Conspirators against Our Safety; and the gentlest reproof, which we can afford you as your last Farewell, will be that beautiful Apostrophe, which *Virgil* has us'd upon mentioning the punishment of a Traytor against the State of *Rome*,

————— *At tu distis, Albane, maneres.*

Virgil's *Æn.* book 8th.

F I N I S.

